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ABSTRACT

Career education in the Netherlands is a regular part of the curriculum and provides students the opportunity to collect information about different professions and studies. The policy of the Dutch administration is to stimulate the creation of secondary schools with both vocational and academic tracks. Career education is designed to balance between delay and choice. By delaying the student's choice of a particular stream, the student keeps open as many options as possible. However, the sooner the choice is made, the sooner the student can pursue an interest in certain professions and the best educational preparation for that profession. A campaign has begun to recruit more students into vocational streams. Every secondary school has to offer career education. All subject teachers must show what their subject means for the different professions. Many secondary schools use work experience programs as part of their career education. The University of Amsterdam has implemented a program to motivate secondary students to attend higher education. The program's four themes are as follows: developing one's possibilities and investing in one's future, choosing a study and a profession, studying at the university, and life at the university. A study has investigated the importance secondary teachers attached to developing values in students. Results show teachers transfer knowledge and skill to students and also stimulate the development of values related to labor. (Contains 15 references.) (YLB)

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CAREER EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS:

learning by experience and value stimulation

Paper presented on the AERA-conference in New Orleans, april 1994

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Career education is aimed at helping students make choices with regard to their future professions and also with regard to the right educational career that leads to these professions. Career education has to bring students to a point where they are able to make a choice that is based on knowledge about their possibilities and the matching of the requirements set by the chosen profession and their own interests, motivation and capacities. In this view, which is becoming rather common in Dutch education, career education is more than counseling, it is an educational activity that should be a regular part of the curriculum. This activity is called 'orientation on study and profession'. In this curriculum students should be given the possibility to collect information about different professions and different studies.

In this paper we will give some examples of such programs. Together with the teachers we have been involved in developing these programs and we did some research on the innovation, implementation and evaluation of these programs. The last part of the paper will describe a study on the values related to labor teachers want to develop in their students.

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In the Netherlands this view on career education as an educational program manifests itself in two different ways. Career education means providing information about career possibilities and trying to stimulate students in forming opinions about career choice. Career education is seen not only as a task for career counselors, but also as one for classroom teachers (tutors) and subject teachers. A second development is that of programs that should give students the possibility to experience professions and educational programs in universities, for instance. Students participate in labor processes and also in educational programs offered by other institutions. These programs endeavor to give students a more realistic knowledge about professions and educational programs and also intend to stimulate the development of certain attitudes with respect to the various professions and educational programs.

1. VOCATIONAL OR GENERAL EDUCATION

Career education always balances between delay of choices, that is keeping open as much options as possible, and immediately pursuing one's interest in certain professions and, therefore, choosing the educational program that provides the best preparation for that profession. A student always has to balance between delay and choice. The higher students climb in the educational system the more urgent, however, becomes the choice to follow professional preferences.

Secondary education contains both vocational and academic tracks. The academic tracks prepare students for university studies and the middle and higher levels of vocational education. Thus, for students that opt for studies that have a great deal of prestige it is worth not to make a hasty choice for vocational tracks. Delay of choice keeps more possibilities open for climbing higher in the hierarchy of education and professions.

Delay of choice

The policy of the Dutch administration is to delay the choice for a particular stream in secondary education, see appendix 1. Delay of choice has been regarded as positive because teachers get a better chance to advise their students in accordance with their capacities. Students have more possibilities to make a choice that transcends their social background. This means that students get a better chance to opt for an educational program which fits both their capacities and interests. In order to provide students with a broad orientation into the various educational streams a common curriculum for junior secondary education has been introduced. In the first year all students get the same subjects, including science and foreign languages. In the second year they start making choices for various educational streams. But in this second year it is still quite easy to change from one educational stream to another. This view on education requires educational institutes which contain both academic and vocational

streams. Therefore, the policy of Dutch administration is to stimulate the creation of institutions that contain all the different streams, schools for separate streams have to join together in one integrated school. The number of this kind of schools is growing, nevertheless, it is still very small. In Amsterdam for example there are 5 integrated schools to the total amount of 61 schools for secondary education (Hofmeister, 1993).

When the various streams are organized in different schools, these streams are situated in areas that correspond to the structure of the social population in the area. The streams are class bounded, and in bigger cities like Amsterdam, for instance, they are also race bounded. The phenomenon of 'black' and 'white' secondary schools, means mainly a black population in schools with vocational streams only, while 'white' schools contain only higher academic streams. These 'white' schools are not situated in the same areas as the 'black' schools so, as our study shows, they are not likely to merge with schools for vocational education. Because of this separation of streams, delay of choice is not a reality for a lot of students, especially not for ethnic students.

Promoting access to vocational education

In the hierarchy of the education system, academic streams are higher judged than vocational streams. The separation of academic and vocational streams in different schools is both a consequence and a confirmation of this hierarchy. However the possibility to get a job does not correspond with the hierarchy in education. Especially for the lower skilled workers like electricians and plumbers, but also in the caring professions there are not enough young people with the required qualifications. This is partly due to a shift in the choice of students. Enrollment figures of 1980 show 57.6% boys and 69.6% girls for general education compared with 33.0% boys and 33.0% girls for vocational education. In 1990 we see a remarkable shift in options both for boys and girls with respect to junior vocational education. The option for junior vocational education decreases with almost 50%: boys 19.2% and girls 14.2% (CBS, 1993).

For that reason a campaign started, aimed at getting more youngsters in vocational streams and less of them in lower general educational streams. In upgrading vocational education the Ministry of Education started a campaign, which is held every year by the end of January. The most important goal of this campaign is to promote the favorable perspectives offered by vocational education in getting a job and to create a training that should be in tune with the new demands for flexible skills and attitudes in an ongoing technology-based society (See also Carnoy and Levin, 1985).

In Amsterdam, the local administration asked us to try both to promote access to vocational education and to improve vocational education so it becomes more attractive for students. We started by a study which involved all the 30 schools for junior vocational education existing in Amsterdam (Hofmeister, 1992). The results show that parents, pupils and even teachers in primary education do not know much about vocational education. Other

results show that schools do not offer enough programs that do justice to individual differences between students or programs oriented towards the development of basic social skills. A lot of students, sometimes due to different cultural backgrounds, lack the necessary skills for participation in school and in the workforce. For this reason we started the implementation of the 'Life Style' program in schools and we introduced different forms of work-experience learning and work simulation like mini-companies, for instance (Gorman, 1990). These activities focus on restructuring vocational education in order to make it more attractive and give students more up-to-date qualifications.

'In search of vocational education'

To reduce the lack of information concerning the different kinds of secondary education, especially vocational education, not only in the case of parents and children but also in that of teachers in primary schools who should advise their children and do justice to their capacities, the local administration of Amsterdam has issued an information campaign on junior secondary vocational education, starting with information for pupils. To this purpose we made a video 'in search of vocational education'. This video will be presented to all 8-graders in primary education in Amsterdam who leave school and have to choose a certain type of secondary education. The video is part of an educational program in which pupils will be made conscious of the existing options, of how they can make these options, of the role played by different persons in this process (parents, teachers and friends) and of their options in relation to their own capacities and motivation. As we noticed, the general secondary education is well-known and often discussed in schools. This program will only focus on vocational education. The effect of this program must be to prevent pupils from entering the academic stream of secondary education and subsequently leave education unqualified, because they do not have the necessary capacities or the motivation for academic courses.

2. CAREER EDUCATION AS PART OF THE CURRICULUM

Now we will switch our attention to secondary education. Every school for secondary education has to offer programs on career education. In all the subjects teachers have to show what their subject means for the different professions. They have to show, for instance, how one can find back Mathematics, Biology or French in different professional activities. Apart from these subject-based activities the classroom teacher uses, as part of his monitoring program, activities directed at preparing students for the choices they have to make, choices for subjects, educational tracks and professions. In these activities teachers place much emphasis on broadening the range of knowledge and experiences students have. Making choices is not only making decisions on behalf of the information one has, but also extending this range by collecting new information before making any judgements.

Access to science

Career education has to do justice both to students' own desires and to the demands of society. An important contradiction between these desires arises around the relative small number of students who opt for a technical educational program. A lot of students in the Netherlands, like in most Western societies, have a preference for the humanities, social studies, law and economics. On the university level the division was in 1990 (CBS, 1993):

	students	man	woman
total amount	164177	94809	69368
arts and humanities	16%	10	26
medical sciences	10	8	13
pure sciences	27	37	14
economics	15	21	8
law	14	13	17
social sciences	16	11	22

The administration, both at the level of the government and schools, colleges and universities, is to promote access to courses in mathematics, science and engineering, not only by making publicity to these courses, but also by giving more financial support and other facilities. For reasons of gender equality girls will be the special target of a publicity campaign.

Work-experience learning

We started by saying that in career education schools are developing programs that offer students the possibility to experience the various professions and labor processes. Since the beginning of the eighties, many secondary schools, both vocational and general, use work-experience programs as part of their career education. In these programs students aged 15 or 16 are given the chance to participate for one week in the labor process of industries, business organizations, shops, administration or other professions. Students can look around in these organizations and get their own work experience. The goals of these programs are to get better insight in the various organizations, the professions they contain and the existing labor relations.

Students must both get their own work experience and find out what the work experience of 'normal' employees is. This program is part of the school program; during that week students follow their 'lessons' outside school. Before that week, teachers prepare the students in cross-curricular projects. They try to develop an inquisitive attitude by training students in interviewing, observing and making reflective reports. Also, they provide their students with theoretical concepts in order to analyze labor processes: concepts such as work motivation, labor relations, labor conditions, division of labor etc. Together with the teachers we developed special educational materials for these programs.

Students select the labor organization in which they wish to make their work

experience themselves. In many schools it is the students themselves that contact the organizations and make the appointments. Of course, the school controls and formalizes these appointments. After the week spent in the organization, students exchange experiences with their classroom mates and reflect on their experiences and the collected information. What teachers hope to achieve, is that students get to know more about labor, develop inquisitive skills and necessary skills for functioning in the adult world, and develop attitudes with respect to labor and their own professional future.

The results of our study show that, in fact, students know, indeed, more about labor, have developed more skills and have developed attitudes with respect to different professions, labor organizations and labor conditions (De Mulder, Veugelers en Van der Dool, 1984). These programs are, in fact, a good example of developing 'situated learning' (Collins, 1991) and the confrontation with labor constraints students to think about their attitudes towards their own career. Despite the large amount of work it requires and the fact that students miss their 'normal' lessons for a week, this work-experience program has become very popular in Dutch education. The majority of junior vocational schools use such a program nowadays. But also in more than 100 academic streams students participate in work-experience schemes.

We will now pay special attention to a new program we are presently working on. It is a program that deals with the transition from pre-university education to higher education.

3. TRANSITION FROM PRE-UNIVERSITY EDUCATION TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Many publications on this subject show that the link-up between pre-university education (*vwo)* and the university has often been seen as a problematical issue. Problems are particularly reflected in the first academic year: many students (25%) quit their study or fall considerably behind. Moreover, it appears that a considerable number (43%) of qualified pre-university students do not opt for university studies (25% of the students opt for higher vocational education and 17% students do not enroll higher education). These students do not seize on the opportunities for moving on to higher education offered by the *vwo*. Both groups, students with problems in the first academic year and *vwo*-students that do not move on to universities, comprise comparatively many youngsters from the working-class, among which a large number belong to migrant groups. The number of migrant students in pre-university schools in Amsterdam has an average of 6%. These groups follow pre-university education comparatively less often. Moreover, as we have seen, female and male students are not equally divided among the various branches of university studies.

The University of Amsterdam intends to improve the link-up between the *vwo* educational sector and the university by developing a more intensive collaboration with the *vwo* schools. Apart from efficiency considerations and the general wish to increase the number

of students entering higher education, the University of Amsterdam also takes certain justice aspects into consideration, especially in its strive to increase the numbers of migrant students as well as improve their performances. It's a partnership program for students (Wilbur and Lambert, 1991).

Aims of the project regarding the link-up between VWO and University of Amsterdam

The aims of this project are as follows:

a improve the motivation of *vwo* students for university studies;

b increase their understanding of the requirements implied by university education;

c improve social and learning skills required by university studies;

d improve the way *vwo* students are being taken care of in their first academic year.

The project dealing with the connection *vwo* - University of Amsterdam, is mainly concerned with motivational aspects in opting for university studies, social aspects related to study, learning attitudes, and study skills required by higher education. As far as *vwo* students are concerned, the project is aimed at increasing their knowledge on university education, enforcing their motivation for higher education and improving their skills in such a way that, both socially and in their performances they are able to maintain their position at the university. Where higher education is concerned, the project is also aimed at increasing students' motivation for study, their social and study skills.

In the scope of this project a program will be developed for pupils who attend the fifth and sixth grade of *vwo* and for students in the first academic year. Characteristic of this program is the guidance students get in the process of transferring from *vwo* to higher education. The program started this year in the fifth grade of *vwo*.

Four themes

The program which is has been developed for the *vwo* sector in the scope of this project consists of four themes:

1 Developing one's possibilities and investing in one's future

This theme provides an orientation in one's possibilities to follow higher education. Questions like 'Which are people's motives in choosing for higher education, in general?' 'Which are my own motives?' and 'What would be the implications of other options in organizing my own life?' are central in this theme. This theme should increase *vwo*-students' motivation for higher education.

2 Choosing a study and a profession

This theme deals with choosing a specific study and the relations between the study and the professional perspectives. The theme should increase pupils' knowledge on the various branches of study and professions and improve their motivation for a particular study. The intention is to give pupils real insight into the branch of study they have chosen.

3 Studying at the university

What sort of learning attitudes and study skills are required by higher education? What is the

difference between studying at the university and being a *vwo* student? Which is the best way to prepare oneself for becoming a university student?

4 Life at the university

Studying at the university does not only imply acquiring knowledge. One also needs certain attitudes and social skills in order to be able to function well as a student at the university, in a year group, a study group and also in one's personal contacts with fellow students, lecturers, advisers, and counselors.

The first and second themes are mainly aimed at increasing students' motivation for study. The third and fourth themes are aimed at enhancing students' knowledge and skills.

Didactic approach

The vwo program is strongly oriented towards motivational aspects and towards helping students realize the importance of the specific social and learning skills required by university studies. Therefore, the program should encourage an active and inquisitive attitude towards study. Gathering data independently, direct confrontation with fellow students and teachers, making one's interpretations explicit and providing them with a scientific basis, form the core of the didactic approach taken by the *vwo* program. The global set-up of each theme will be: a start meeting, data gathering or gaining experience, information and experience processing. The university section of the program is mainly concentrated on reflecting upon the experiences gained as a student, returning to one's previous expectations as a *vwo* student and establishing adequate strategies for further action.

Organizational set-up

Themes 1. 2 and 3 are carried out in *vwo-5* and theme 4 is carried out in *vwo-6*. When students involved in this project begin their study at the University of Amsterdam, particularly during the first academic year, the content of instruction gives special attention to these four themes and especially to the third and fourth themes dealing with studying and learning at the university. A number of sessions will be organized for this group of students during the first academic year. This 'connection' project endeavors to improve the way first-year students are guided and taken care of at the University of Amsterdam.

With regard to the employed contents and staff the intention is to build both programs (*vwo* and university) in the same way. The university teacher will participate to a number of sessions that will be held in the vwo and the vwo teacher will participate to the sessions that will be held at the university. For the vwo, the class tutor is the most important coach. Subjects such as Social studies, Dutch
language and Career counseling could also contribute to the program.

The university provides a number of teachers who, in the first place, will act as university teachers and only in the second place, as scientists in a specific discipline. Apart from that, in selecting the group of university teachers that will participate in this program,

the strive is to obtain the participation of various faculties. This will provide information about the contribution paid by the various faculties via program consultations that will be held by the involved university teachers. The fact that the faculties contribute pro rata to this program should be regarded as obvious. After the first theme, the program will mainly focus on the faculty/discipline chosen by the pupil. The pupil will visit the faculty where he/she wishes to study. The concerned faculties will determine and organize the program for these students.

This project method implies an intensive collaboration between the *vwo* schools and the University of Amsterdam. It will deepen the ties between the university and its environment, not only with respect to the implementation of the program; the program has also been developed by representatives from the interested faculties and schools. Proposals have been constantly discussed with all the schools and faculties.

Collective responsibility

In the scope of this project, large groups of secondary-school teachers and university lecturers will be given the opportunity to become personally acquainted with each other, so that agreements could be reached and arrangements made with a feeling of collective responsibility. These arrangements might have a multiplier effect that could improve the link-up between *vwo* and universities on a national level. But the most important thing here remains the collective responsibility of teachers for a group of students in the process of moving on from pre-university to higher education (An extended paper about this project is Hofmeister, Veugelers en Van Welie, 1993).

The project implementation started in the study year 1993 - 1994 in the *vwo-5* of 14 schools with a total population of approx. 750 pupils. 32 teachers from the University of Amsterdam collaborate to the program in schools.

Some results of the Program for Linking up Pre-university with University Education in the first year

The program has been evaluated in several ways this year. Classroom tutors complete evaluation forms describing the positive and negative aspects. Tutors especially mention students' growing consciousness with respect to their interests, motivation, capacities and career perspectives, or the lack of it. The ongoing focus on curricular and career choices and their implications have been very positively assessed. The theoretical knowledge about studying is now complementing with 'situated cognition'.

Students complete evaluation forms, and their written reports, assignments during this year's program usually contain a tacit evaluation of the program activities. Most of all, from university students they have learned a great deal about what really matters at the university. Some students who already had made their choices were no longer sure these were right, and changed their career choices. Moreover, the visits they had to pay to the university made them feel much more at ease now that they can walk in and out.

The involved university staff is more aware of their responsibility of helping students in pre-university education broaden their interests and their experiences. By working close together with teachers in pre-university education the university teachers have learned a lot about their future students.

4. TEACHERS AND VALUE EDUCATION CONCERNING LABOR

Up till now we spoke about different projects in which teachers pay attention to the world of schooling and labor. Teachers organize educational activities for their students in order to enlarge their knowledge on labor and develop their skills. But the goal of education is not only to impart knowledge and skills but also to develop certain values. The development of values that enable students to perform in our labor system is highlighted in this study.

First we will explain the domain of the values we studied, then our view on the role of teachers in developing values and subsequently we will present the research design. The study has not been carried out especially with the teachers involved in the above-mentioned projects but with an a-select sample of the group of teachers in secondary general and secondary vocational education.

Social-normative qualifications

In preparing students for labor, teachers want to develop a qualification for labor. Concerning the required qualifications for labor, a distinction can be made between technical-instrumental and social-normative qualifications. Social-normative qualifications are the values and habits people need for labor. Hurrelmann (1975) divides the social-normative qualification for labor in social-regulative, motivational-normative and politico-normative elements. In this study, the motivational-normative and politico-normative elements have been distinguished in the following themes: 'motives in occupational choice', 'social organization of labor' (division of labor and unemployment) 'labor relations' and 'relations between education and labor'. A social-normative qualification for labor can be aimed at personal adaptation, personal emancipation and collective emancipation.

Value stimulation

When speaking about the role of education with respect to the development of values most people use the concept of 'transfer of values'. According to this concept education should transmit values to students, this suggesting that values can be passing over. But both constructive psychology (Prawatt, 1992) and critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1989) show that teachers cannot transfer values to their students because students construct their own concepts of significance and develop their own values. Teachers, however, can encourage students to develop certain values. They can try to influence the development of certain values by their students. Therefore, we have introduced here the concept of 'value stimulation'. Teachers can

be asked which values they want to develop in their students, which values they propagate via didactic materials and educational behavior.

Research design

In the present study teachers have been asked what their goals are with regard to the development of values related to labor in their students. It shows which values related to labor teachers wish to develop in their students: which labor identity they want to construct in their students. The study focuses on the role of teachers in education. It is an investigation of values related to labor conveyed by teachers to their students in the Netherlands (Veugelers, 1993a). Our research population consists, therefore, of teachers who are engaged in that particular educational sector in which the task structure has been reshaped in favor of the socio-economic task, namely the sector educating 15 to 18-year-old students. The Dutch education system makes a distinction between general secondary education and senior secondary vocational education at the level of the mentioned age category. Both types of education have been included in this research.

The curriculum of a certain type of school comprises different subjects. Teachers who teach these subjects may have different opinions with regard to the values they wish to stimulate in their students. Teachers do not only differ from each other in point of school type and subject but also in point of personal characteristics such as experience, gender and age. School culture, specific educational views, assessment of didactic materials and school denomination may also influence the aims of the teachers. In this study, we have investigated the relationship between school type, school subject and teachers' personal characteristics, on the one hand, and the importance teachers attach to different aims in the field of values related to labor, on the other hand.

The research instrument was a written questionnaire in which teachers had to indicate on an interval scale how much importance they attached to each of the specified goals and how much attention they paid to each particular goal.

Furthermore, they had to answer why they had chosen these goals. The questionnaire was sent to a random sample of secondary schools and to the commercial sectors of institutions for vocational training. The school subjects comprised economics and practical subjects, social studies and career counselling. The questionnaire was sent to 694 teachers of which 415 (60%) responded.

The statistical analyses used here are cluster analysis and analysis of variance (ONEWAY and ANOVA). The reported results are all statistically significant.

RESULTS

Results show that teachers not only transfer knowledge and skills to their students but also stimulate the development of values related to labor in their students. Teachers' personal curriculum, their interpretation of the formal curriculum includes goals related to stimulating the development of values related to labor. Teachers wish to provide their students with

specific values which are part of the 'pedagogical content knowledge' of the teachers. The professional view of teachers is that they do have a pedagogical task.

Before discussing the differences between the groups of teachers analyzed here we wish to mention the values which teachers in all types of schools consider important for their students. Teachers agree on the importance they attach to stimulating intrinsic motives in occupational choice. They consider these motives much more important than extrinsic ones. Only to a small extent do they wish to stimulate developing motives such as 'money making' and 'status'. Regarding 'labor division' teachers from all school types score higher on the 'equal-division-of-labor' cluster than on the 'assert-your-own-career' cluster.

Equal division of labor related to gender is stronger aimed at creating possibilities for executing certain activities both by men and by women and less directed towards equal division among various professions. As causes for unemployment teachers prefer to give to their students the social, and not so much the personal factors: the labor system generates unemployment, according to them. Teachers do not strongly stimulate alternative labor ethics. In the field of values related to labor relations teachers stimulate both values related to changing labor relations and values regarding adjustment to labor relations. Teachers in all school types also consider 'industrial initiative' (entrepreneurship) a very important cluster. They find it important that their students join interest groups but they do not strongly stimulate the initiative of joining specific employers-and-employees organizations. Teachers in all school types also agree on the importance they attach to persuading their students the view that it is mainly their personal effort, attitude and initiative that determine their future achievements.

Developmental process

The social-normative qualification for labor that all teachers in the investigated schools wish to give to their students can be summarized as the development of an individual who characterizes the transition from education to labor as follows: one's own effort, initiative and attitude determine one's school and professional career. One should attempt to achieve one's prospects and personal interests in choosing a certain occupation. One should also endeavor, as much as possible, to achieve an equal division of labor. Unemployment is mostly caused by social factors and not by personal ones. Showing a positive attitude with respect to entrepreneurship (industrial initiative) is also very important. One should not only stand up for oneself in one's work environment but he/she should also be able to adjust to the prevailing labor relations.

General and vocational education

Teachers in both general and vocational educational institutions attach much importance to political-normative elements, such as 'motives in occupational choice' 'division of labor' and 'unemployment'. Differences between teachers in general educational institutions and those in vocational institutions are mainly expressed by the importance teachers in vocational

institutions attach to goals related to the organization of labor and the relations existing between education and labor, in this case, legitimizing selection and allocation in education and work. For teachers in general secondary schools the pedagogical task regarding labor means providing students with an orientation regarding the place labor takes in society and the place it can take in one's life. For teachers in vocational education this pedagogical task also involves preparing students for performance in the work situation and stimulating them to develop values which enable them to adjust to their work environment and feel responsible for their own performance in this environment.

Differences between school subjects

In this paper we will focus on the differences between subjects. For results obtained for the different school types and personal characteristics see Veugelers (1993a and 1993b).

social studies

Between teachers there are also differences which are related to school subjects. Particularly teachers of social studies attach much importance to the development of the social-normative qualification for labor and pay much attention to this. Teachers of social studies (*vwo*, *kmbo* and the apprenticeship system) differ from teachers of economics and from career counselors in the orientation they wish to develop in this respect. They pay more attention to collective orientation.

Teachers of social studies would like to pay a larger contribution to the development of a socio-normative qualification for labor. In fact, they do not have enough time at their disposal for this purpose and whatever time they have left is in danger of being reduced even more.

career counselors

Career counselors attach much importance to the theme dedicated to 'motives for occupational choice'. On the other hand, they do not appear to attach much importance to the organization of labor in society and in the work environment. It is surprising that career counselors are no deeper involved in developing values related to labor. They regard their task more as one of providing information. Maybe this interpretation of their role is caused by the circumstance that career counselors in most schools of the Netherlands do not have an educational program for their students. They only sometimes provide information about different school types and professions. But the tendency is now that schools develop programs for career education in which career counselors work together with tutors and teachers of different subjects.

economics

Teachers of economics in (*vwo, havo* and *meao* schools) pay, compared with teachers of social studies, relatively little attention to the development of a social-normative qualification for labor, an exception forming the 'entrepreneurship' (industrial initiative) cluster. Teachers

of economics are strongly oriented towards adjustment. Results show that teachers of economics in *meao* schools, a type of vocational education, do not consider their subject as a practical professional preparation in which, next to conveying knowledge and skills, specific values have to be developed.

subject teachers

Subject teachers in the *kmbo* and the apprenticeship system, the lower types of vocational education, consider the development of a social-normative qualification as being very important and, therefore, pay a great deal of attention to it. This goes for all themes and practically for all clusters. These subject teachers are both oriented towards adjustment and towards individual, as well as collective, emancipation. For subject teachers, preparing students for labor does not mean only transferring knowledge and constructing skills, but also developing certain values.

Discussion: teachers and value stimulation

About the task of value stimulation the following remarks can be made.

'citizenship' for labor

The Dutch government like other governments in most countries, wishes a reinforcement of the educational task and an improvement of the link-up between education and labor. These initiatives could, certainly in combination with each other, lead to an increase of the importance teachers attach to the development of values related to labor in their students.

A social-normative qualification for labor can be seen as 'citizenship' for labor. The concept of citizenship implies, in our opinion, not only passive participation in society but can also be related to further democratization of the community and increasing the number of possibilities for social participation (Giroux, 1989). Just like in the community, in the field of labor one can also speak of active participation and of increasing the number of possibilities for participation in labor (Carnoy and Levin, 1985). By preparing students for labor, education can also contribute to increasing the number of possibilities students have in deciding on their occupational career (Simon, Dippo and Schenke, 1991).

Results in our study show that, for teachers in the Netherlands, 'Work education' means not only adapting to labor and labor relations, but also stimulating personal and collective emancipation with regard to labor. One may speak of stimulating the creation of an active 'citizenship' for labor.

different school subjects

This 'citizenship' for labor is not only a task for teachers of social studies although these teachers attach most importance to the development of values related to labor. Our study also shows that this pedagogical task is not only meant for teachers of social studies, but also for teachers of economics and for career counselors. It is good that this pedagogical task is not

reduced to one subject, it shows that also the content of other subjects can be made more context-based, here, in the context of society. As expected, teachers in vocational education find the stimulation of values related to labor important but, as our study shows, 'Work education' and Career education is not only a task for vocational education but also one for general education.

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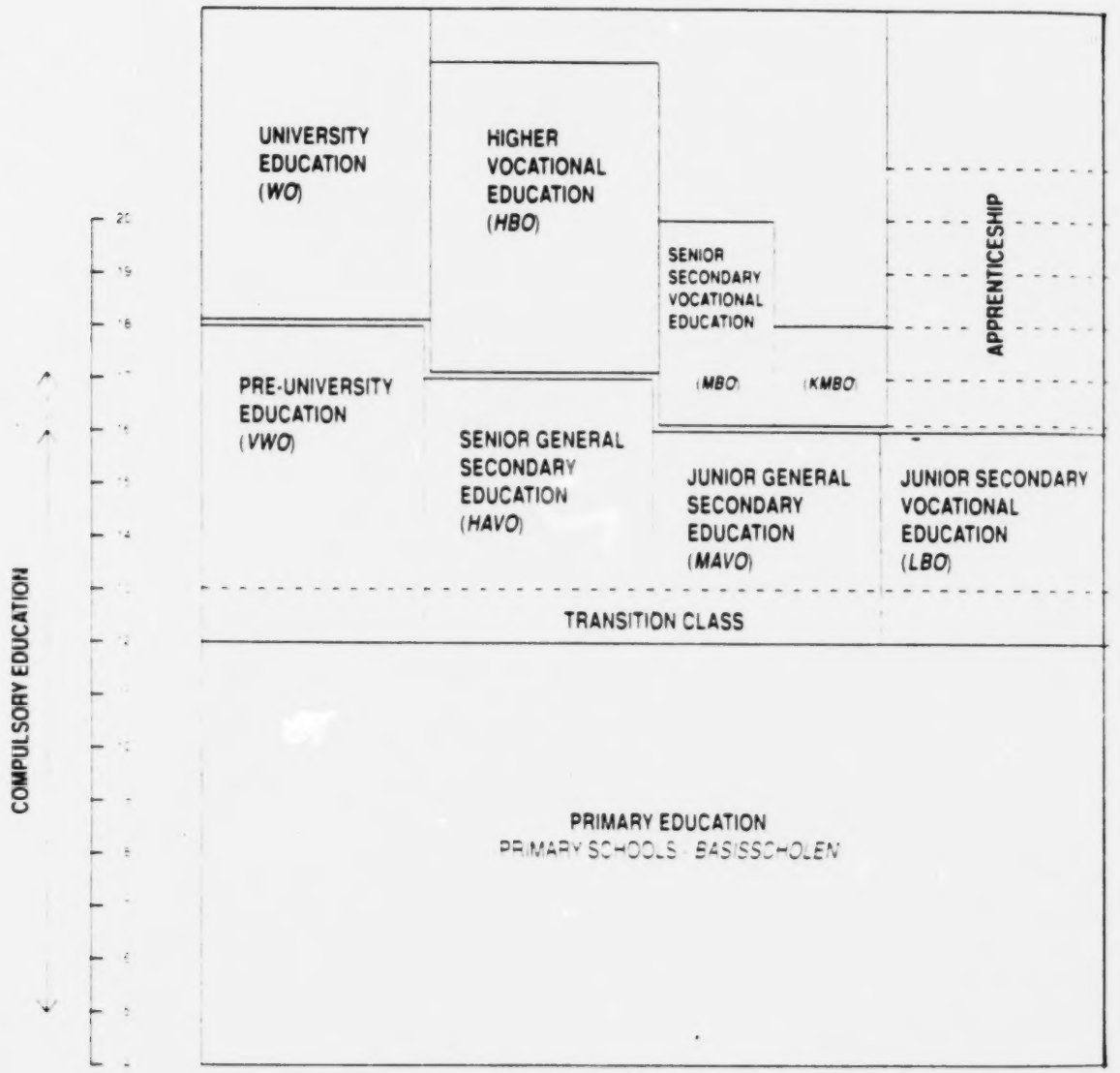
APPENDIX 1

THE DUTCH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM



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